1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
* 556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
[578] in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the backroom where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kusiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *numiti* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
552 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
● [766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[3/4] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potlas*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potlas* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potlas* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tahsa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[3/4 See ant. 116, p 186 (c) - ANALYST]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society.

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates.

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

* 556 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

* 556 622 ● 766 [795] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

* 556 What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

[424] (1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of deference with which those are regarded who hold the names of the [554] first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

* 556 769 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Bellabella NES

BC
* 539

air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. Ty.....,"

Since that time the people of Owikt have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Ahkiatic* brought with him from above not only the right to a *nusut* dance, but also a Cannibal *hamat* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Lebeet*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *hamat* and *nusut* rites on alternate nights.

BC
[766]
[177]

This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chiefs. This custom is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tal'io*, and thence to Bella Coola.

[824]

Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola.

BC
[177]
[583]

The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of Owikt, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony at the death of his sister.

BB
539
BC
* 539

AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA*

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Talitimut* went to the Bella Bella town, *Kqaypd*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Ahkiatic* had placed there for that purpose. *Talitimut* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nikai*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

*Related by Joshua Moody.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife.

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[1] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin.

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relatives is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as

[1] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 825

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. 763 602 795

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *nuuk*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Matlatila*. A *nuuk* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *nuuk* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *nuuk* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *nuuk* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Matlatila* (also called *Sisiutlutsum*), 575 766 796

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

766 575 [776] [203] [628] but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *nusaḵ* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *nusaḵ* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family [302] cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative [537] who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man, 533 and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] 575 A hidden *nusaḵ* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and 766 the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *nusaḵ* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *nusaḵ* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *nusaḵ* rites. [184]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At intervals, the new song is repeated and *ɬsaok* members of the audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a young *ɬsaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end which it usually achieves.

As already described, *ɬsaok* ceremonial was in a state of transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Previous to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a number of *ɬsaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which *Mulakhila* came and the *ɬsaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet. In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own lifetime from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tăl'ĭs*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body,
766 but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other
[532] marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been customary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[1] It is a common practice for an influential *sisaok* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *sisaok* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *sisaok* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gasps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

[178]

[1] The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of customs.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the hole in the roof, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "b[illegible]." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the roof, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out: 575 766

"*Ye*··," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *sisaok* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the roof boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *sisaok* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [556] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *sisaok* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *sisaok*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 766 781 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior *sisaok* desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

[184]

575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Mulakila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. One old man mentioned that an *Owiki* myth in which a

[424] [773] [424]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[8] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially

[8] This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the *tsaxoa*.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
[766] the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
784 pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[761] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning.

[766] [533] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tla* song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] [773] *Alquntăm*, under the name of *Smaialotla*, to take pains that the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nusmăt·a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 are never disturbed, being considered, in some vague way, "bad." The tools used for digging the grave are left standing upright in the loose earth, an action for which no explanation can be given by the Bella Coola. When these various rites have been performed, the funeral party returns to the village and disperses.

766 845 At present, interment is the customary method for disposing of the bodies of all except twins, whose bodies are placed in trees. Formerly, other means were sometimes employed, as 764 they still are occasionally. Instead of inhumation, a coffin 178 was frequently placed on a scaffold close behind the deceased's house. Whenever another relative died, planks were laid across, above the first box, and the new one deposited on these, so that in time the scaffold grew to resemble a house-like structure with many compartments. In the last century a certain shaman, *Åskankots* by name, is said to have pointed out that corpses were frequently carried off by wolves, *snuuq*, and other animals. For this reason he persuaded the people to inter their dead.

764 Somewhat similar to this practice was the placing of corpses in trees. Until the last few years this was sometimes done with poor children; formerly, it was not unknown even for chiefs. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that the coffin containing the body of his grandfather, a chief, was placed in the crotch of a tree where no rain could penetrate. This means of disposal was probably never habitual. Even at the present time, the corpse of a dearly loved child is occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolizes the way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nusmät·a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe[28] and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola.

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nusmät·a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Älquntäm* decrees the length of life and any wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture.

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried

[28] If not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *sisaok* dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sā-lma*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qoxolān·i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo·qwa·t*, was encamped at *Saskwanuts* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qoxolān·i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

754
in a skirmish by the Carriers, one of their women mutilated a [727] body by poking out the eyes. The corpses were rescued and a Bella Coola with secret knowledge dropped into the eye sockets some potent medicine. As the corpses rotted, the murderers began to suffer pains, and the woman who had poked out the eyes lost her sight. As a blind, old woman, she had been seen by several men with whom the matter was discussed.

To Cause the Death of a Murderer (three means)

754
(1) Two women were murdered at Kimsquit in 1915. 682
Before they were buried, an elderly Bella Coola put a secret medicine on the back of the neck of each so that the murderer [766] would die from a disease located there. Within eight months, a Rivers Inlet man succumbed to a deep sore at the back of the neck, and it was assumed that he must have visited Kimsquit unseen and perpetrated the double murder.

Medicines like this and the preceding are widely known, but it is sorcerers who specialize in using them.

(2) When a man dies suddenly and murder is suspected, [766] although the perpetrator is unknown, place the corpse within an old, hollow spruce log. As it rots, needles and dirt enter the flesh and at the same time the body of the murderer becomes lacerated and full of sores. This method was employed [695] during the lifetime of an informant and caused the death of the suspected murderer, whose guilt was thereby accepted as proved.

(3) Bury the victim's body with a toad in its mouth and [766] the murderer will soon die.[4]

To Kill 754

Lift a corpse from the ground and point it at one or more individuals. This causes their death in the near future.

[4] This information was obtained from one informant only; details were unavailable, and confirmation from others could not be secured.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sympathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut* to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the performance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is equally well known that his specific power has been brought to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskāsiutsta* (also called *nusxi'ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ăno'likwolsaix*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its repository and in each of these is *Ăno'likwolsaix*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

* 575 781 796 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was [688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

* 575 ● 766 [533] If X should die during the year's interval between his initiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kukusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEó Bellacoola NEó

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the *ḵukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *ḵukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch.

The Ritual of Specific Dances

General observations about the dances

A detailed description of various *ḵusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nuṣqulxwaista*. Several *ḵukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *ḵusiut* season.

The dance of *Noāḵyum*[11]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noāḵyum*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 60.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

who have gone aloft and never returned,[11] and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,[12] one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Alaliqsumay*, "The Actionless Night," or *Nuxstimut*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse.

The next day, *nusiutälsap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *koip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse.

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *qoalsm*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

[11] If a Cannibal dies during his period of concealment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends.

[12] This consists of the frenzied beating of sticks, repeated four times.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in concealment, the *kuḵusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Alquntâm under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Alokam*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Sînawuḵâlâlum*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[10] and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *kuḵusiut* are eating, one marshal after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

[10] There is difference of opinion on this point.

A: McDowell E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
HEA Bellacoola MSS

424 ently he begins to groan, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
*796 former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
787 begins to shake and groan, amid the laughter of all. Presently
891 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
522 Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
[776] hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some time the owner draws his power to himself and the main ceremony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural beings above perform *circuits*.

The Dance of a *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
●766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
989 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days, there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the person of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The *nuxalk* discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kusiutsut* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kusiutsut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

A.M. Boyle E.9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relatives completes the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *hamatsa* ceremonial is still preserved unanimously as the winter found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call.

575*
796*
766
787
[123]

The Final Rite

The commencement of the *hamatsa* season is regulated by the coming of *Nuskyum*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *hamatsa* wishing to dance has become negligible and the members decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *hamatsa* dance has taken place, and that so long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in these houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

575*
796*
591
784

A few nights after the last sunrise, the heralds summon the *hahamtsi* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual drumming is omitted. Presently scribe are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary ceremonial beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the members, or another *hamatsa* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of

575*
796*
787
784

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	598*
you are the pest of misfortune,	of unchildbearing(?)	your daughters	576
	you committed incest;	you are spilled, you	
		women	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	578
who pretend to be virtuous(?).	Aiaiau	Translation	translation
	Alas!(?)	I am ashamed,	I am dead(?).

[erasure erased]

3 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Exactly similar	in the little boy's nose	on that of the round-headed	
[illegible]	Aiaiau	Translation	translation
[illegible]	Alas!	I am ashamed,	I am dead.

[erasure erased]

4 The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most Bella Coola songs in that [illegible] was an unmarried mother, not a lesbian wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kwaqsis and this song composed for her by a certain *Hiligaxsta*. [841]

(b) Recorded on wax YE D 36a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pahoot.

(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(d) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(e) This is addressed to women in general.

(f) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(g) The chorus is here changed as if it were [illegible] herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(h) *Kakwit* was supposed to be the father of Snaw's child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents reformed to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 598* [765] [764]

Song Used for Those who Mourning for Son, [illegible]

1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Why has my son been sold?	Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(?)		

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

c *Pa-qa-la-wa-ni-la-ya* | *ala-la-la-wa-na-la-ni* | *yas ăwa'-ya-la-la-ya* 533*
I hear the coming | figure(s), | hail fine'-ish-la

yas Ăya-na-la-wa-la-ni
Ăyanala(s).

(a) This song was used during the *hăxĕ'x* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant into the society. The full ritual was not performed on that occasion, and it was impossible to learn the proper procedure. The neophyte's parents in *Ăya'ănala Ăyanala*, whose prestige are usually Seventh or Brother dancers, but *Ăwalăkwanis* has neither of these prerogatives. [176]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 49, National Museum of Canada, 1911, Reuben Johnson, Pat'a Charlie, and Jim Pollard, the last-named acting as consultant. This song was composed by Reuben Johnson.

(c) The chorus is worded as if the neophyte were speaking to the uninitiated whose cradle he has just left.

(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(e) This refers either to supernatural power or to some object imbued with it.

(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The meaning of the whole is obscure, although the implication is that the dancer now knows everything having, figuratively, found upon the supernatural.

(g) More accurately, the memorial figure; the meaning is obscure.

(h) The dancer's person.

Hăxĕ'x MOURNING SONGS 533* 965 575* [166]

Several prominent *hăxĕ'x*-dini during the spring and summer of 1923. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several *hăxĕ'x* mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In such case the *hăxĕ'x* rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined *hăxĕ'x* and mourning songs: [177] 533*

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children.

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The canoe of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must also early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they shelter themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, choosing new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or oolachen. Widow and widower observe themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their children are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relatives invite the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was "the same as giving away the house of the deceased."

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Wiyot differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to